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562 licks them up with the tip of her tongue and eats them. Men never indulge in this quest.

826 Long hair in the back is considered beautiful in both sexes. Negro hair is regarded as repulsive; on the other hand, these Indians esteem the fine-textured, smooth hair
302 of pure whites as at least equal in beauty to their own and take delight in stroking it.

Even tribes, like the Gurupy Timbira, who have long since abandoned the ancient mode of hairdressing, still remove eyebrows and lashes. Long eyebrows "like a dog's" are abhorrent to the Canella; they are torn out with the tips of the fingers, which [824] have first been dipped into ashes. In order to avoid unremitting criticism I felt compelled to shave my eyebrows from time to time. An ordinary two-fiber tucum thread serves to remove the eyelashes. A man will hold his hands at a distance of a few centimeters on the thread, twist it so that the fibers separate, then enclose the tips of the lashes with them, tightly twist the thread together again, and jerk off the lashes. Another device is to use the long seeds of the steppe grass, which are provided with a sharp, though barely visible barb. No man ever removes another's
562 eyebrows or lashes; he either does it himself with the aid of a mirror or has some woman do it for him.

[832] Axillary or pubic hair, which appears late and almost always remains scanty, is generally allowed to grow unhindered. However, young girls and, more particularly, village wantons often pluck out the first pubic hair, this being reckoned elegant. Kukẽnkwę'i, one of the wantons never absent from any festivity of the wakõkama age class, had her pubic hair gently, though forcibly, removed by her friends and age mates at the command of the class leader, Ropkạ' junior, as they triumphantly reported to me afterward.

According to Pohl, the Põrekamekra of old removed all body hair.[200]

The beard is not plucked out except by young unmarried men provided it should appear at that age, which is a very rare occurrence. Otherwise it is allowed to grow; but whiskers, which hardly ever sprout, are considered ugly.

304 *Perforation of ear lobes.*—Perforated ear lobes (hapakkre) and the hair furrow
881 constitute the most important national badges of the Timbira, the Eastern tribe limiting the perforating of ear lobes to boys. Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra I have often witnessed this operation, which is obligatory before the final initiation phase, but not otherwise fixed in time. Usually it falls into the first phase of the second half of the initiation cycle, that is, when the boys are from ten to fifteen years old and still sexually pure. Snethlage's estimate of six to seven years[201] is thus too low.

The operators, of whom Ponto has three, function simply as experts in this procedure, playing no other part by virtue of their practice. Every boy is operated on separately in his maternal home without any previous preparation. He is made to sit on a mat where there is proper illumination, with either parent behind him [413] and resting both of his or her hands on the lad's shoulders. The perforator, provided with a wooden pin (fig. 3), a gourd bowl holding urucú pigment (pl. 20, *a*), and a pair of bamboo rods the thickness of a match, squats before the subject. He cuts off the hair about the boy's temples, kneads the lobe between his finger tips, dips the tip of his pin into the urucú, and thus marks the spot to be punctured, all this being done with deliberate meticulousness. The perforator leans back to make sure that the spot is in the right place. Taking one of the red bamboo plugs between his lips, he once more seizes the pin and slowly twists it, making an orifice the diameter of a lead pencil, whereupon he immediately inserts the plug. I have

[200] Pohl, Reise, 2:192.
[201] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 150.

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304 881 never seen the victim move a muscle. After going through the same process on the other ear and after smearing urucú over the wounds, the man forthwith puts a cloth over the boy's head and knots it together below his chin. There is no solemnity about the event; half a dozen boys and girls of the type that want to see everything will look on with interest, otherwise no one pays the least attention. But the operator and the patient both must keep a diet and abstain from any hard labor until the wounds are healed. If time is pressing, it happens that half a dozen boys have their ears pierced on one day or within a few days. In that case they jointly take their meals in front of the village, observing their diet. My query as to the material used before cloth came into vogue remained unanswered.

Over a week after the operation, when the wounds are healed, the boy's maternal uncle goes hunting and kills a deer, smokes its flesh outside the village, wraps it in leaves, and places it in a basket. Unannounced he suddenly dashes toward the plaza with his load, drops it there, and departs. At once all the women except those of the boy's household rush out with knives, each trying to snatch away a slice of the game, though because of their great number only a few succeed. There is a regular scrimmage, so that on one occasion a competitor got a slashed hand instead

Fig. 3. Lobe perforator: wooden pin. Slightly less than ½ nat. size.

of a share in the meat. In another instance the women caught sight of the hunter at a distance, pounced upon him, and snatched away the game long before he could get to the plaza; on this occasion a woman had her nose gashed.

Gradually the orifice is widened by the insertion of successively thicker rods of bamboo and later of wood. As soon as the diameter attains about 4 cm., the further widening is produced by inserting the two index fingers and turning them around each other. It is, above all, the youths secluded during the last phase of initiation who strive for a maximum diameter, but there is great variability from tribe to tribe and from individual to individual. The Western Gaviões perforate their ears, but do not seem to wear strikingly large plugs; and according to Pohl the Põrekamekra specimens were only half an inch in diameter.[200] Those of the Kre'pų'mkateye do not exceed 3.5 cm.; on the other hand, the largest plugs, with a diameter up to 10 cm., occur among the Krahõ' and the Rąmkõ'kamekra and in former times they are said to have been still larger. All of the older Rąmkõ'kamekra recalled a tribesman with plugs of such dimensions that they would clash together in the back of his neck as he ran. My pictures at the last initiation illustrate the variability in size (pl. 4, *a–c*).

304 171

304 832 When the plugs are of the largest size, the lobe of the ears forms a strip barely 5 mm. in width that encircles the outer margin as an endless band does its wheel. Such disks (krũi) are the youth's pride and the women's delight. In describing the handsome young man of a tale the narrator will stress the size of his plugs: there is a story about one hero whose disks were so large that he would take them out to sit on them as a stool. Spirally coiled palm leaflets, such as Pohl reports from the Põrekamekra,[200] supersede plugs only in the case of medium-sized holes.

304 When the ear has attained the desired extension, the disk is generally worn only for festive adornment, the lobe normally forming a flapping loop, which is accordingly as a rule slung over the upper edge of the helix. Occasionally some acciden

[200] Pohl, Reise, 2:191. [200] Pohl, Reise, 2:192.

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304 may cause the loop of skin to tear, henceforth preventing the wearing of ear ornaments since they are never used singly. Pąnhí, once taking over a huge burity log from another racer's shoulders while dashing past, suffered this misfortune. He did not notice anything before passing on the log, when the blood was dripping on his shoulder. I have never heard of the Canella healing the torn ear after the fashion of the Apinayé.[300]

301 The ordinary plugs are disks of some light (weight) wood, an inch in thickness
531 and dyed red only on the edge. For a ceremony a thick layer of white clay is put on the face of the earplug, which is mostly decorated with black and red designs. There are ringlike plugs of thick bamboo and also wooden disks with round central holes that are sometimes sufficiently large to suggest rings; at times a corded tassel, dyed red, is inserted. The youth in plate 4, *a* has stuck a bit of tobacco twist into the orifice of his plug, not for magical purposes, but simply because the ceremonial costume precludes the use of a pouch for storage. In other plugs the holes have the form of a Greek or Maltese cross. Very rare are heavy plugs of hardened white clay with violet marble-like veins; I have seen them only from the Rąmkõ'kamekra, the material being apparently restricted to the Serra do Alpercatas in their territory. (Pl. 13, *a*.)

Among the Krĩkatí and Pụkôbye I have seen plugs with four little mother-of-pearl disks cemented into the anterior surface. The Rąmkõ'kamekra have such inserts of mirror glass, but only rarely.

From Pụkôbye I obtained a pair of paca incisors said to be inserts for earplugs. I have never seen such in use among the Eastern Timbira, but observed them at Apinayé initiations. The ear rosettes of the Karayá also bear this ornamentation.[301]

304 171 *Labrets; incisors.*—Except for the Western Gaviões the lower lip is no longer perforated by any Eastern Timbira tribe. The Rąmkõ'kamekra told me that until not very long ago the Eastern Gaviões (Pụkôbye) also had perforated lips. In a mixed company of Krahõ' and Apę'nyekra Martius saw the older people wearing labrets in the form of shining cylinders of yellow rosin or alabaster; they were from 1½ to 3 inches in length and could be easily extracted.[302] Since Pohl, who in the same year saw numerous Krahõ', noted only ears perforated,[303] the labret wearers must have been Apę'nyekra, though their present descendants know nothing of such decoration. For the Põrekamekra Pohl explicitly denies perforation of the lip.[304]

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Apę'nyekra, and Krahõ' the upper incisors of children of both sexes are very often tapped into pointed form with a knife and a little mallet. The practice is rare among the other Eastern Timbira.

304 177 The reverse holds for tattooing, which is very rare among the former, but somewhat more frequent among the Krĩkatí and Pụkôbye. Doubtless borrowed from the Neobrazilians, the decoration as a rule consists merely of a few plain lines or copies of letters on the forearm; it is executed with iron needles and genipa.

386 828 517 *Pigments.*—The Canella have five pigments: 1, black, from rubber latex with powdered charcoal; 2, red, from urucú seeds; 3, yellow, from the juice of the urucú root; 4, bluish black, from the juice of the genipa fruit; 5, white clay. Of these, the first three are applied both to the body and to objects; the fourth serves only to decorate the body; the fifth, with few exceptions, only for objects.

Red urucú, the most common, at once attracts every visitor's notice by its omni-

[300] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 42.
[301] Krause, In den Wildnissen Brasiliens, 224.
[302] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:319.
[303] Pohl, Reise, 2:211.
[304] *Ibid.*, 2:191.

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lower end pointed on the sword-club pattern; the upper end, which is sometimes decorated with openwork over a span in length and often very prettily, terminates in comblike tines 4–6 cm. long (pl. 36). A soft sound is produced by moistening the skin on the inside of the upper arm with the tongue and stroking it back and forth with the tines. This sound is the signal by which the pepyé identify themselves on mutual visits at night.

A second object often found in the hands of pepyé, but otherwise only rarely (as a children's toy), is the bull-roarer (pīkwęk) (pl. 35, *e*). After nightfall and before daybreak the class leader should swing the instrument, the alarm being passed on from cell to cell to make sure that its inmate has not fallen asleep, in which case the commandant would punish him. This was the subsequent statement of the commandant who had functioned in 1933, but during that festival the signal was certainly not given with regularity, but at best now and then. As a participant I only occasionally heard the booming sound for a few moments and did not learn its meaning until later. Once I overheard the following dialogue between two pepyé, which the commandant's explanation elucidates: "Did you hear my bull-roarer this noon?" "Yes!" "I thought you were asleep."

That the bull-roarer was part of the insignia peculiar to pepyé is indicated by the term pepyetokárčą in the speech of the Čą'kamekra, nowadays extinct as a separate tribe, whose specimens were considerably larger and of more careful make than their present Rąmkõ'kamekra equivalents. It seems clear that the comparative insignificance of the bull-roarer at initiation does not represent its original role.

A pepyé in retreat carefully extends the lobes of his ears to fit them for the earplugs (kúi) (see pl. 4, *a–c*). From time to time the youths widen this part of the ear, which is developed into a loop of skin, by inserting both their forefingers and then twisting the loop; at intervals of a few days the plugs are superseded by new and somewhat bigger ones.

The deputy daily notched a four-edged stick (amkrópupunčą, day counter) to keep tally of the days elapsed since the capture of the pepyé (pl. 35, *g*).

The pepyé passed the time with various diversions: one of them constructed a ventilator wheel, another carved a model of the type of motorboat plying on the Mearim, still others plaited little baskets, bags or mats of anajá grass, which they used in their subsequent parades and camps.

Sometimes when the village lacked meat, the pepyé furtively marched into the steppe to hunt. On one trip they stole a neighboring farmer's ox; the council by no means sanctioned this procedure, but had the errand boys bring the two chief malefactors to the plaza and gave them a terrific reprimand, so that they stood there quite abashed, notwithstanding the supercilious bearing at first assumed by one of the culprits. At night, before all their fellow novices, the two commandants once more subjected them to prolix harangues and reprimands.

Thus the weeks passed. In the meantime the wakõ'kama, being the youngest of the eastern classes and hence the novices' opponents, gathered daily in the western vụ'tẹ''s house and arranged many log races with the next older põhį'kama class camped on the west side. These latter, using the eastern vụ'tẹ' house as their lodge, belong to the same team league as the pepyé of 1933, whose subsequent position would also be on the west side of the plaza, to the north of their predecessors on that side.

*Inspection of new leaders.*—About 4:30 P.M. on May 23, the põhį'kama and wakõ'kama classes (western and eastern, respectively) began to dance jointly in the plaza, while the hąpín and pinčwẹ'i of the eastern leader of the pepyé assembled

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a b c

MEN WITH EARPLUGS

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/46 cont./

114 Père Etienne Ignace (4), too, for lack of better and more

[113] 4. Père Etienne Ignace, "Les Capiekrans /The Capiecran/," 1910; in Anthropos, Vol V, pp. 477 ff.

modern sources, was forced to depend on the testimony of this Brazilian traveler for many things in his work "Les Capiekrans" (a Canella subhorde), since from personal observation he knew the Canella very little or not at all.

101 What do we really mean by Canella Indians?

[131] In the wider sense they probably corresponded in their full extent to the dense population of related Indians of the Gẽ people that was designated by Ribeiro as Timbirá, who at the time of the occupation of Maranhão by the Europeans were in uncontested possession of the country and probably a part of the coast.

101 Whereas the hordes living in the north, which it was sought
6/9 in vain to establish in villages in S. João de Penalva in the vicinity
30/ of Viana on the lower course of the Pindaré River, near Codó and
[171] Caxias on the Itapecuru River, wore as a characteristic feature
[304] enormous lip disks carved out of the soft wood of the gamelleira /Moraceae/, for which reason they were then generally called Gamellas, the related nomadic tribes living to the south of them in the center of the state were /47/ distinguished by the no less huge wooden disks fastened as adornment in the slit ear-lobes.

101 Ribeiro calls the latter tribes, together with the inhabitants of the interior, "Canellas finas" (=Indians with thin shinbones), among whom a distinction was again made between Korumekran and Kapiekran.

101 According to the account of Etienne Ignace, the Canella
36/ Kapiekrans are supposed to be divided between two centers, Grajaú
[114] and Barra do Corda, and to have four villages. At no time in
[131] Barra do Corda did I hear either the name "Capiekrans" or "Corumekrans" /illustration appears here/ as tribal designations and only ascertained this much, that the "Canella" were settled in a half-civilized state in four actually existing villages between

/47 cont./

123 Scarcely 15 minutes later there appeared before us from
[137] out of the dry underbrush of the forest, which shortly afterward
[142] changed into densely overgrown tableland, a copper-brown,
[291] frighteningly ugly, already old Canella Indian, completely naked,
[302] with long deep-black hair flowing down over his shoulders and
[304] back (4), his ear lobes slit far apart, and holding a bow and arrows
[411] in his hands.

4. The hair style of the Canella Indians corresponds exactly to that of the Pure-came-Crans /Porecamecra/, according to the description by Martius. See Ethnographie I, 287. "The Pure-came-crans wear their hair hanging down stiffly from the crown of the head to the ears and cut it here, following the curvature of the head in such a way that a furrow is formed, under which they let it grow again and fall down to the shoulders." The hair skullcap is actually the tribal badge of the Canella, and thus the supposition that the Canella of Suridade might be a remnant of the Pure-came-Crans visited by Pohl is not unjustified.

302 171

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in his hands.

123 576 [177] The usual Brazilian greeting formulas, which were quite familiar to the old man:

"Como passou compadre /How are you, Friend/?"

"Muito obrigado. E como vae o Senhor /Very well, thank you. And how are you, Sir/?"

"Bem /Fine/." Laconically it continues. -- The Canella: "Do you have any tobacco?"

Answer: "No. -- We are going to your village." -- "I shall go with you."

[302] [411] Shortly afterward we met five more comrades of grotesque appearance, painted with urucú red and genipa juice, almost all armed with guns. -- Another greeting scene.

/51 cont./

535 mark the dance rhythm at festivals by being beaten together. (Fig. 2, 11.)

534 No. 10. Small decorated musical instrument (gukon-grúte), a kind of signal whistle made from a gourd (Cuyen/ shell, with a blowhole and two tone holes. (Fig. 2, 8.)

No. 11. A similar instrument, decorated with beads and small feathers. (Fig. 2, 4.)

301 [223] [237] [534] No. 12. Neck ornament (hakró) made of cotton threads (roretsí); in addition to animal claws, a small gourd whistle (gukon-krúte).

301 306 482 534 535

Fig. 2.

(gukon-krúte). (Fig. 2, 3.)

301 ● 304 No. 13. Ear ornament (2) (kūi), consisting of black-red

[824] 2. According to Etienne Ignace, made out of the hard wood of the "Pau santo" /Zygophyllaceae/ or "Acupu."

wooden rings, 2.5 centimeters thick, 8 centimeters in diameter, and 26.5 centimeters in circumference, which are worn in the

/51 cont./

301 pierced and systematically enlarged holes of the ear lobes (3).
304 (Fig. 2, /see p. 15/, 15.)

[171] 3. Compare with this the similarly shaped ear-rolls observed by Karl von den Steinen among the Suyá of the Xingu, made like a tapeline out of the wide leaf-strips of the [113] bacaba palm, with a diameter of 7 centimeters, leaf width 1.5 centimeters. See Durch Zentralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886, p. 207.

301 No. 14. Ear ornament, as before, but of somewhat smaller dimensions. With a circumference of 21 centimeters, the thickness of the ring-shaped ear-disks is 2 centimeters, their diameter 6 centimeters. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 1.)

[286] No. 15. Woven upper-arm ornament (ipaĉẽ) with woolen tassels. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 6.)

482 No. 16. Carrying baskets with a square base and a forehead-
285 tumpline plaited out of buriti fibers (4). (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 13.)

[171] 4. An exactly analogous basket model is found among the Kayapó of the Araguaia.

126 /52/The following brief word-list was recorded directly from
174 the Canella Indians and permits one, by comparing it with the
197 corresponding words of Ehrenreich's Gradahõ vocabulary (1) and of
[114]

[113] 1. See Ehrenreich, Materialen zur Sprachenkunde /Linguistic Materials/.

the Mẽkubengokrä word-list recorded by me, to recognize a very close linguistic relationship with the Kayapó tribes of the Araguaia, whose separation from the main body of the Gẽ nation on the other side of the Tocantins may well have taken place in not too far distant times.